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## **The Newest Religious Sect Has Started In Los Angeles: Race, Class, Ethnicity, And The Origins Of The Pentecostal Movement, 1906 – 1913**

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# **“THE NEWEST RELIGIOUS SECT HAS STARTED IN LOS ANGELES”: RACE, CLASS, ETHNICITY, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT, 1906–1913**

**Marne L. Campbell**

When the well-respected scholar and editor W. E. B. Du Bois arrived in Los Angeles, California, in May 1913 as the guest of African Wesley Chapel, one of the elite African American churches in the city, it was estimated that more than two thousand people—African Americans, other people of color, and even some whites—were there to greet him; and over the next week they showed him westerners’ grand hospitality. Subsequently, he published in *The Crisis* magazine a detailed account of his visit to various parts of the “Golden State.” Du Bois was greatly impressed by the accomplishments of the African Americans he met, and he believed he had found in the City of Angels something unique and special about the nature of race relations: “One never forgets Los Angeles and Pasadena: the sensuous beauty of roses and orange blossoms, the air and the sunlight and the hospitality of all its races linger on.” Du Bois deemed Los Angeles among the best places for African Americans to live in the entire nation because of the relative freedom from overt discrimination in housing, employment, and the political arena.<sup>1</sup>

Du Bois arrived in the city on the eve of World War I and observed certain differences between black Angelenos and African Americans across the country. The city’s vibrant social and political environment was comprised of not just black–white interactions, but a range of multiethnic relations involving Anglo and African Americans, Native and Mexican Americans, and European and Asian immigrants.<sup>2</sup> Race relations in the South were bifurcated, but Du Bois found African Americans in Los Angeles working and living alongside Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and European immigrants, and other people from all over the world. Du Bois traveled throughout California and conducted an unofficial field study that many researchers believe was the first sociological study of African Americans in that state by an African American scholar.<sup>3</sup>

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Du Bois found that Los Angeles had a pleasant and healthful climate that seemed to have a positive effect on the residents because Angelenos were hospitable and African Americans were “pushing [forward] and energetic.”<sup>4</sup> Agricultural and industrial workers as well as small business owners had beautiful homes, and they lived and worked with other people of color. Du Bois also reported that black Angelenos working together had created many employment and business opportunities for themselves.<sup>5</sup> Du Bois focused primarily on the African American professional and business elites who had organized day nurseries, homes for working girls, and other charitable and self-help organizations. He actually toured the businesses owned and operated by African Americans throughout the city, particularly in the downtown area.<sup>6</sup>

Du Bois also commented on racist practices and segregation in Los Angeles. The Anglo-owned hotels and restaurants and some local storeowners refused service or discriminated against African Americans. In the face of such discrimination, Du Bois reported that African Americans regularly challenged the practices: “Black folk are fighters and not followers of the doctrine of surrender.”<sup>7</sup> However, he understood that race relations in California were much more complex. DuBois observed, “Here, I had my first sight on the Pacific and realized how California faces the newest color problem, the problem of the relation of the Orient and Occident. The colored people of California do not realize the bigness of this problem and their own logical position.”<sup>8</sup>



The Owens Business Block, Los Angeles, CA (c. 1913)

With immigrants arriving daily from around the world, California had become a crossroads for clashing cultures and economic conflicts. Du Bois recognized the potential competition coming from people of Asian descent, particularly Japanese immigrants, in business and labor. He first noticed this competition in San Diego along the harbor, but he also observed it in other parts of the state.<sup>9</sup> While impressed with the circumstances for African Americans throughout the state, Du Bois felt that black Angelenos had made the most progress, despite some adversity: “They are without a doubt the most beautifully housed group of colored people in the United States.”<sup>10</sup> However, in focusing on the accomplishments of the black middle class in Los Angeles, he passed over or ignored the living and working conditions for the vast majority of African Americans who were skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers. One of the major religious institutions organized and supported by working-class people in Los Angeles—led by black preachers and missionaries and which attracted a multiracial, multiethnic following—was the Azusa Street Revival, which launched the Pentecostal movement that eventually extended all over the world.

This essay examines the emergence of the Azusa Street Revival, a predominantly working-class religious movement in Los Angeles, in the first decade of the 20th century. In reconstructing the events surrounding the Azusa Street Revival during its formative years, this essay explores its place in the history of race relations in Los Angeles and the origins of the Pentecostal movement in the United States. In many ways the Azusa Street Revival resembled other religious revival movements that took place in the United States in the late 18th and 19th centuries and laid the foundation for the worldwide Pentecostal movement in the 20th century. Du Bois visited the city during the initial years of the revival, but having been dazzled by the circumstances for the black elite, he overlooked the numerous religious revivals taking place in the city, which began with working-class African Americans just a few years earlier. The Azusa Street Revival offers a powerful lens for documenting the significance of the religious practices and cultural institutions among working-class African Americans in Los Angeles at the beginning of the 20th century.

#### **AFRICAN AMERICANS, REVIVALISM, AND THE CITY OF ANGELS**

Beginning with Delilah Beasley’s *The Negro Trailblazers of California*, published in 1919, other researchers of the African American experience in Los Angeles have echoed Du Bois’s comments in *The Crisis* magazine about black middle-class achievements and passed over the lives and cultural institutions that

emerged among working-class African Americans in the early decades of the 20th century. Several social scientists have described the marginalization of African Americans and other people of color in Los Angeles, and other parts of California, as Anglos came to dominate the state's economic and political landscape.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Mexican Americans, historian Matt Garcia in *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* found that they engaged in various forms of protest against racist practices, and negotiated with the Anglos for physical and cultural spaces for themselves in the region. Mexican Americans created separate musical and cultural venues and practices that were separate from, though reflective of, some aspects of the white American mainstream.<sup>12</sup>

Historians and other scholars of Pentecostalism and the Azusa Street Revival have focused primarily on the movement's doctrine. Vinson Synan in *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* traced the revival's roots to the Methodist Church, and he was one of the earliest researchers to discuss the multicultural aspects of the Azusa Street Revival as well as African Americans' contributions.<sup>13</sup> In *The Pentecostals*, Walter J. Hollenweger connected Pentecostalism to ecumenical movements and mainline Protestant denominations worldwide; this work is particularly important in understanding the global impact of Pentecostalism.<sup>14</sup> Vinson Synan, Robert Mapes Anderson, and Larry Martin examined the theological aspects of Pentecostalism, but not its demographic and sociological characteristics.<sup>15</sup> However, Ian MacRobert emphasized "The Black Roots of Pentecostalism" by crediting the founding of the movement to William J. Seymour (African American) and Charles Parham (white).<sup>16</sup> In contrast, Joe Creech in his article "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History" argued that the events in Los Angeles were only a part of a larger global movement, and challenged those who suggested that William Seymour was the founder.<sup>17</sup> More recently, in *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*, Grant Wacker focused on the predominantly white congregations during the early years of the Pentecostal movement in the United States.<sup>18</sup>

The working-class background of the early participants in the Pentecostal movement has not been emphasized in earlier studies. Not only were the adherents to the Azusa Street Revival working class, they were from a wide variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, with large numbers of African American migrants who had recently arrived in Los Angeles from the South. At the beginning of the 20th century, the African American community in Los Angeles was relatively small, and the increase in the size of the population between 1900 and 1910 was due primarily to southern black migration. According to census reports, in 1900 there were 2,841 African Americans living in Los Angeles County, 6,323 "people of color," and over 160,000 residents of European descent (see table 1).

Table 1. African American Population in California

		1900	1910
Los Angeles County	All	170,298	504,131
	Black	2,841	9,424
	White	161,134	483,478
	Other People of Color	6,323	11,229
San Francisco County	All	342,782	416,912
	Black	1,654	1,642
	White	323,670	400,014
	Other People of Color	17,404	15,256
California	All	1,485,053	2,377,549
	Black	11,054	21,645
	White	1,391,682	2,259,672
	Other People of Color	82,326	96,232

Source: Historical Census Browser [accessed 16 June 2009].

The number of African Americans and other people migrating to Los Angeles increased greatly after 1900, and while African Americans came from every region of the country, the majority came from southern states. By 1910 the African American population in Los Angeles was the largest of any city in the state (7,500), more than some of the larger cities in the state such as San Francisco and Oakland.<sup>19</sup>

The increase in African American migration to Los Angeles between 1900 and 1910 helped boost the local black economy. While most black workers faced limited employment opportunities, some decided to open businesses. There were several dozen black professionals, but the vast majority of African American workers were employed in domestic and personal services. African American men also worked in factories; on the numerous constructions sites around the city; in the saloons, theaters, and clubs in the entertainment districts; and for the municipal government in the streets and parks departments (see table 2).<sup>20</sup> They were teamsters and porters, cooks, bricklayers, masons, janitors, carpenters, and gardeners. In 1910, five African American men were listed as ministers or preachers in the census, along with one female missionary. African American women were primarily employed as laundresses and domestics, although some worked as nurses, and in stores, restaurants, and hotels in the city. Still, most black women were laundresses, a job that allowed them to remain in their own homes and care for their children. African American children attended integrated public schools, and by 1910 almost all African American children between the ages of 5 and 18 attended school.<sup>21</sup>

Table 2. Occupational Characteristics, Los Angeles

Distribution of Labor: African Americans	1900	1910
Agriculture	16	3
Domestic & Personal Service	562	696
Professional Service	30	45
Trade & Transportation	63	132
Manufacturing & Mechanical	178	162
Other/Unknown	44	40
Total	893	1076

Source: Ancestry.com. 1910 United States Federal Census [database online].

As in many other regions in the country, the churches were among the first institutions organized and controlled by African Americans, and often served as educational, social welfare, and community institutions. Thus the church represented the center of African American life. When most African Americans arrived in Los Angeles, they were drawn to one of the city’s black churches to gain a sense of community and reestablish cultural ties. By the beginning of the 20th century, there were twelve churches in the African American community, many providing vital social services.<sup>22</sup> The religious institutions oftentimes received financial support from wealthy African Americans. Robert Owens and Biddy Mason, both born in slavery, acquired substantial wealth and property, which they used to help build up the African American community in Los Angeles. The Owens household became a gathering place for business and religious events in the 1860s and 1870s, until it became necessary to rent or construct buildings for these activities. Biddy Mason paid the taxes and other expenses for the First African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, organized in 1872, and she even helped to purchase its first church building, located on the east side of downtown Los Angeles, adjacent to Chinatown, near Azusa Street.<sup>23</sup> In 1885 the Second Baptist Church was organized and these two institutions served the majority of African Americans spiritually as well as socially at the turn of the 20th century.<sup>24</sup>

In 1906 the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (CME) was organized, starting out with only eight members. Although the CME’s membership remained small, its founding represented new dynamism in the religious life of black Angelenos. Also in 1906 twenty members of the First AME Church left and formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church. The Second Baptist Church experienced several divisions, with the first in 1892 resulting in the establishment of Mount Zion Missionary Baptist, followed by Tabernacle Baptist Church and the New Hope Baptist Church in 1897.<sup>25</sup> A small but significant number of African

Americans attended the Roman Catholic churches in Los Angeles, and in October 1904 Westminster Presbyterian Church was founded by African American Presbyterians. Those who participated in the late 19th century Holiness movement established their own church in 1906, the Apostolic Faith Mission, during the Azusa Street Revival.<sup>26</sup>

The religious revival in Los Angeles in the early 1900s should be viewed within the context of other revivalist movements in North America, beginning with the Great Awakening that spread from the British Isles to the northern and southern colonies between the 1730s and 1770s. The revivals attracted people of various social and religious backgrounds, free and enslaved, and were characterized by the enthusiastic preaching and worship styles of the preachers and the “conversion experiences” of the participants.<sup>27</sup> The Second Great Awakening or “Great Revival” from the early 1800s to the 1840s differed socially as well as doctrinally from the earlier movement in that the adherents rejected the Calvinist notion that only God controlled one’s salvation, rather than one’s personal deeds and acts. Participants in the Great Revival embraced the Wesleyan notion that everyone could be saved and that converts had a responsibility to work for the “spiritual perfection” of the others in the society at large. Charles Grandison Finney, Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, and other revivalist preachers not only stressed individual conversion, but also supported broad social reforms, including the temperance, juvenile justice, and antislavery campaigns. African American men and women, including Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, Jullian Jane Tillman, and Sojourner Truth, participated in and sometime led these revivals and camp meetings. The era of the Great Revival also witnessed the formation of new Protestant denominations, including the Church of Latter Day Saints and the Seventh Day Adventists, as well as the organization of many Holiness churches.<sup>28</sup>

While the Pentecostal churches grew out of the Holiness movement, the two religious doctrines are distinct. Belief in the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” and the ability “to speak in tongues” or glossolalia became central and distinctive practices associated with the Pentecostal movement. Historian William E. Montgomery argued that the Holiness movement evolved in response to the conservative directions of the First and Second Great Awakenings. As the Baptist and Methodist denominations became more theologically conservative, the leadership discouraged the level of emotionalism the revivals once evoked. The Holiness movement “incorporated a high level of emotional excitement, an ascetic doctrine that substituted the reward of spiritual salvation for material success and earthly pleasures, and a strictly literal interpretation of the Bible,” declared Montgomery. “Its adherents placed a great value on sanctification or ‘holiness’ in attitude and behavior, that was manifested in old-time [early 19th-century] revivalist religion.”<sup>29</sup> The Holiness movement attracted adherents among working- and lower-class whites in the late 19th century, but the emotionalism and emphasis on spirituality



made the revivals and camp meetings appealing to African Americans since these were cultural practices that were part of their African heritage. The core Holiness tenet of sanctification laid the spiritual foundation for the Pentecostal movement.<sup>30</sup>

Most scholars of the Pentecostal movement recognize the Azusa Street Revival as its foundation. Although they sometimes differ in specific practices, most Pentecostals profess sanctification, “baptism of the Holy Spirit,” and “speaking in tongues.” The 18th-century Methodist preacher John Wesley placed great emphasis on the work of the “Holy Spirit”; he believed that the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” was essential to one’s salvation and that the evidence of this was the ability to speak in unknown and unlearned languages.<sup>31</sup> The branch of Christian theology that deals with the Holy Ghost, pneumatology, focuses on the role of the Holy Spirit in equipping and empowering “the believer, making him [or her] a more effective witness for the service in the world.”<sup>32</sup> Salvation is considered a process in which a person first confesses that he or she was a sinner, but now believes in Jesus Christ. Then, according to Rev. C. F. Range, the congregants achieve sanctification, or “holiness,” the “continuous operation of the Holy Ghost . . .” The Holy Spirit “delivers the justified sinner from the pollution of sin, renews his [or her] whole nature in the image of God, and enables him [or her] to perform good works.”<sup>33</sup>

The “baptism of the Holy Ghost” and the ability to speak in unknown languages is traced to the events that took place on “the Day of Pentecost,” as recorded in the Bible in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts, 2:4); and once this occurs, the believer receives certain “spiritual gifts” such as the ability to prophecy and heal, and openness to wisdom and new knowledge. Pentecostals also practice “total immersion water baptism.” Anthropologist George Simpson suggested that the Pentecostals should be considered fundamentalists who modeled a “biblical apostolic church”; and the practices and sermons of the leader of the Azusa Street Revival, William J. Seymour, seem to bear that out.<sup>34</sup>

William Seymour declared in *Doctrines and Disciplines of the Azusa Street Mission*, first published in 1915, that the members of his Apostolic Faith Mission asserted “salvation by faith . . . that pardon . . . is received by faith, producing works. . . . Holiness (salvation continued) is faith working in love. . . . Heaven (salvation finished) is the reward of this faith.” In addition to salvation by faith, holiness, and love, Seymour’s followers put their trust in their ability to “speak in tongues,” but it was only one sign of having received the “baptism of the Holy Spirit.” The worshiper also received “wisdom, power, truth, [and] holiness.”<sup>35</sup> Seymour stressed the importance of the “power of knowledge” and emphasized that all Christian believers should seek the ability to “speak in tongues” because it opened the door to healing, prophecy, and other transcendent capabilities.<sup>36</sup>

African American migrants to California brought certain religious customs with them, derived from West African, Baptist, Methodist, and other religious traditions.

In West Africa the religious practices oftentimes included spirit possession and rhythmic dance. Historian Sterling Stuckey identified the “ring shout” as a widespread religious practice in West and Central Africa that was transferred to various parts of the Americas. Religious ceremonies included singing, dancing, and moving in circular patterns, and for some, spirit possession.<sup>37</sup> People performed this “holy dance” until they were overcome by emotionalism and were filled with the spirit. Participants in the Azusa Street Revival danced, sang, and shouted as the Holy Spirit allowed.

Scholars of the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism in the United States have put forward both Charles Fax Parham (white) and William J. Seymour (African American) as the modern founders.<sup>38</sup> Born in Mucantine, Iowa, in 1873, Charles Parham was “called” to ministry at the age of nine, after he began studying the Bible. At age sixteen, he enrolled in Southwestern College, a Methodist school in Winfield, Kansas. After a period of “spiritual confusion,” Parham left, claiming that it hindered him from doing God’s work. In 1892 he was ordained in the Methodist Church in Kansas and began preaching. However, church leaders forced him out in 1894 because Parham was promoting speaking in tongues and came to believe that “glossolalia was the biblical evidence of being baptized in the Holy Spirit.”<sup>39</sup> Two years later, he married Sarah Thistlewaite and the two began traveling and preaching together. After the couple’s first child was born in 1897, Parham developed heart disease, prayed for divine healing, and recovered. This served as the motivation for his ministry of healing, and he opened the Bethel Healing Home in Topeka, Kansas, in 1898.<sup>40</sup>

On 15 October 1900 Parham opened a seminary, the College of Bethel, in Topeka, Kansas, with about thirty-six students, many coming from Methodist, Baptist, or Quaker backgrounds. Parham stressed the importance of a “Spirit baptism” and the “outpouring of the Holy Spirit.” On New Year’s Day in 1901, a woman named Agnes N. Ozman became Parham’s first student to experience the “outpouring of the Spirit.”<sup>41</sup> And soon after, other students received the “Spirit baptism.” After hearing reports of similar charismatic events occurring in Houston, Texas, Parham decided to move to Houston and opened a religious institute in 1905. In Houston, William Seymour approached Parham about becoming one of his students.<sup>42</sup>

William Joseph Seymour was born on 2 May 1870 in Centerville, Louisiana, to Simon and Phillis Seymour who were formerly enslaved. Simon Seymour was a bricklayer, while Phillis stayed home and raised their four children; William was their oldest child.<sup>43</sup> With the death of Simon Seymour in the early 1890s, Phillis decided to take the family to a farm she owned in St. Mary’s Parish, Louisiana. There she and her three sons, William, Simon, Jr., and Amos, raised crops for sale and her daughter Emma attended school.<sup>44</sup>

In 1895 William Seymour left St. Mary's Parish and made his way to Indianapolis, Indiana, where he took a job as a waiter. Between 1900 and 1902 Seymour lived in Cincinnati for a short time before moving to Houston in 1903 where he attended a Holiness service led by Lucy Farrow, an African American woman. Farrow had been introduced to the Holiness movement while serving as the governess for the children of Charles and Sarah Parham. Farrow began holding her own religious meetings and she invited Seymour to attend, introducing him to Holiness teachings about "sanctification" and the "outpouring of the Holy Spirit."<sup>45</sup> Seymour wished to learn more and attempted to enroll in Charles Parham's institute, but was not allowed because he was black. Eventually, Parham permitted Seymour to sit in the hallway and listen to the lectures. Seymour soon became pastor of his own African American Holiness mission in Houston. Within a few months, however, Seymour accepted an invitation to help with the Holiness missions in Los Angeles.<sup>46</sup>

### THE AZUSA STREET REVIVAL

William Seymour met Neeley Terry from Los Angeles at one of Lucy Farrow's meetings in Houston. Terry informed Seymour about the "doctrinal divide" that had split her black Baptist church in Los Angeles. Julia Hutchinson, a member of the congregation, was teaching the equivalence of "sanctification" and the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," as a second act of grace that every believer was entitled to and possessed.<sup>47</sup> Since this contradicted contemporary Baptist doctrine, Hutchinson and her followers were forced out, and eventually moved to a storefront on Santa Fe Street, also in the downtown area. After Terry returned to Los Angeles from Houston, she convinced her congregation that Seymour was the best choice as new associate pastor to heal the wounds of division in the church. The congregation invited him to the city and he gladly accepted the call and arrived in Los Angeles in 1906.<sup>48</sup>

Once Seymour began preaching in the Los Angeles Baptist church, he emphasized the importance of the "baptism of the Spirit" and the "speaking in tongues," and while some members of the church accepted these doctrines, others objected strenuously and soon locked the doors of the church, preventing Seymour and his supporters from worshiping there. At first Seymour, along with a few families, moved the prayer meetings to the home of Edward "Irish" Lee and his family, where Seymour was a boarder; however, the house was too small so the group moved nearby to 216 North Bonnie Brae Street, the home of Richard and Ruth Asbury, black Baptists who decided to provide a space for Seymour and his followers.<sup>49</sup>



**Home of Richard and Ruth Asbury, 216 N. Bonnie Brae Street**

Source: Center for Spiritual Renewal, Cleveland, TN.

Initially, most of the members of the prayer meetings were African American women who worked as laundresses and domestics, and members of their families. But Seymour's landlord Irish Lee also started attending regularly, and he brought other whites with him. Then in April 1906 Irish Lee became seriously ill, and he asked Seymour to pray with him for a "divine healing" and "Spirit baptism" (which Seymour had yet to experience himself). Believing that Lee could be filled with the "outpouring of the Holy Spirit," Seymour prayed until Lee began speaking in another language and was soon cured of his illness. Seymour returned to the Asburys' home and at the prayer meeting that evening, 12 April 1906, Seymour received his own "baptism of the Holy Spirit" and began "speaking in tongues."<sup>50</sup> Willie Ella, the Asburys' daughter, and others told people about the strange occurrences, and soon many others came to the house to witness these "miraculous" events. After the terrible earthquake in San Francisco on 18 April 1906, killing an estimated 3,000 people, Seymour met the anxious and the fearful on the porch of the house for prayer and preaching. The crowds became so large that the porch separated from the foundation. Soon, Seymour realized that he needed to move his prayer meetings to a larger venue.<sup>51</sup>

The First AME Church congregation had abandoned its building at 312 Azusa Street in downtown Los Angeles and Seymour decided to take it over.<sup>52</sup> It was a "small, rectangular, flat-roofed building, approximately 2,400 square feet (40 x 60)

sided with weathered white-washed clapboards,” according to religious scholar Robert Owens. “The only sign that it had once been a house of God was a single gothic style window over the main entrance.”<sup>53</sup> Seymour and his followers cleaned and repaired the building, making it suitable for holding services. The ground floor was turned into a chapel, and the second floor was used as an “upper room” where people gathered and “tarried,” waiting for the “outpouring of the Holy Spirit” as Christ’s apostles did on the Day of Pentecost. The building was soon named the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM).<sup>54</sup>

Arthur B. Shepherd, a visitor to the mission a year after the revival began, “tarried” in the upper room until he felt the “baptism of the Holy Spirit,” and he had what he later described as a near-death experience. “Slowly, surely my life seemed to ebb away, until at last unconsciousness took place. How long I lay I do not know, but the first thing I was conscious of was a new life flowing in. Soon, my jaws and tongue began to work independently of my volition and the words came, a clear language.”<sup>55</sup> Shepherd’s experience was repeated by hundreds of other working-class people from African, European, and Asian American backgrounds living in Los Angeles at that time. The Apostolic Faith Mission became the new home for a religious revival that would eventually attract people from many parts of the world who came to Los Angeles to experience the modern “Pentecost.”<sup>56</sup>



**Apostolic Faith Mission (c. 1913), 316 Azusa Street, Los Angeles, CA**

Almost from the beginning, the AFM’s building was too small to accommodate the attendees, with approximately a hundred people squeezed into a building

designed to hold no more than thirty or forty. During the first months in April and May 1906, between 750 and 800 people had participated in the revival. Oftentimes, there was an overflow of several hundred people standing in the street, and the police attempted to halt the prayer meetings due to the obstruction of traffic and the loud noise. The Los Angeles Fire Department also responded to reports of explosions and a “mysterious glow” from the building, which was caused by the type of illumination and lighting used inside. Child welfare officials received reports of large numbers of children playing on the outside of the building, and the Los Angeles Health Department was called in to investigate sanitary conditions.<sup>57</sup>

The Episcopalian, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, African Methodist, and other mainline clergy, who viewed revivalists in general as suspect, rejected the practice of speaking in “unknown tongues” as nonsensical, and the preachers as fraudulent and engaging in a form of “play-acting.” By the same token, the new Pentecostals considered themselves the “spiritual elite” given their “revelation of tongues” and their biblical fundamentalism. The Pentecostals believed they practiced Christianity the way God, the Holy Spirit, intended it.<sup>58</sup>

It should be noted that a majority of the leaders within the Holiness movement initially opposed Seymour and his followers because of their belief in “speaking in tongues.” Holiness preachers Glenn A. Cook and Alma White even accused AFM revivalists of practicing “devil worship,” “witchcraft,” and sexual immorality.<sup>59</sup> The account in the *Los Angeles Daily Times* in April 1906 provided some information about what was occurring at the mission, but what it also conveyed was upper-class condescension and racist ridicule.

Breathing strange utterances and mouthing a creed which it would seem no sane mortal could understand, the newest religious sect has started in Los Angeles. Meetings are held in a tumble-down shack on Azusa street, near San Pedro street, and the devotees of the weird doctrine practice the most fanatical rites, preach the wildest theories, and work themselves into a state of mad excitement in their particular zeal.

“Yoo-oo-oo gou-lou-oo come under the bloo-oo-oo boo-loo,” shouts an old colored “mammy” in a frenzy of religious zeal. Swinging her arms wildly about her she continues with the strangest harange ever uttered. Few of her words are intelligible, and for the most part, her testimony contains the most outrageous jumble of syllables, which are listened to with awe by the company.<sup>60</sup>

At the same time, the more the newspaper and magazine journalists and editors focused on the revival on Azusa Street, the more people came to witness it. The AFM began publishing its own newspaper, the *Apostolic Faith*, and in the September 1906 issue Seymour addressed the negative publicity and statements in the “secular papers.” He pointed out that the attendees believed that God was present at these revivals, and given the divine revelations and healings, “they have

come and found out it was indeed the power of God.”<sup>61</sup> There was also a sensational aspect about what was happening at the AFM, and many people came because they heard about it and were curious and wanted to witness for themselves what was taking place. And some who came only to witness became participants. The mission held services late in the evening, and sometimes they ran into the next day. The services were somewhat structured, but it was common for prayer meetings to last twenty-four hours since the order of services relied entirely on a spontaneous “move” from the Holy Spirit. Usually, the services began with prayer, followed by praise and testimonies. Someone volunteered to preach to the gathering before singing commenced, in English and other languages. Someone whom the spirit had anointed then came forward to deliver the message, and then the Holy Spirit moved through the room. At that point, up to a hundred people approached the altar for prayer. Following altar prayer, a member read letters received from people from around the world seeking the “Holy Spirit baptism,” and then praise and prayer resumed.<sup>62</sup>

In September 1906 at the beginning of the revival in Los Angeles, the *Apostolic Faith* reported that one hundred and sixty people had been “saved.” Seymour claimed that “more [people] than on the Day of Pentecost have received the gift of the Holy Ghost and the Bible evidence, the gift of tongues, and many have been saved and sanctified, nobody knows how many.”<sup>63</sup> Throughout the City of Angels, Seymour declared, “God has been melting and saving and sanctifying and baptizing with the Holy Ghost.”<sup>64</sup>

While Seymour never supported the ordination of women, he relied on them to help run the mission. “All ordination must be done by men not women,” Seymour declared. “Women may be ministers but not to baptize and ordain in this work.”<sup>65</sup> Even with these limitations, women served as ministers for the Apostolic Faith Mission throughout the world. One issue of the *Apostolic Faith* reported that “God wants men and women [who] will preach this Gospel square from the shoulder.”<sup>66</sup> Florence Crawford, Jennie Moore, and Lucy Farrow were among the most active women who served as missionaries and ministers. Florence Crawford was one of many white women who assumed a leadership position in the early years of the mission. Crawford, along with Clara Lum, took charge of the publication of *Apostolic Faith*. Crawford also served as a traveling missionary throughout northern California and in Portland, Oregon. It was a dispute with William Seymour over doctrinal issues that led to the transfer of the newspaper’s production to Portland, which contributed to demise of the Azusa Street Revival.<sup>67</sup>

Jennie Evans Moore played a pivotal role at the Azusa Street Mission. During the first few meetings at the Asbury home on Bonnie Brae Street, Moore received her “spirit baptism” and spoke in tongues. In fact, she was the first woman in Los Angeles to experience a “Holy Spirit baptism,” and her testimony was published in

the *Apostolic Faith* newspaper. She and the others believed that one of the languages she spoke and sang in was Hebrew. Moore received the “gift” of playing the piano though she never had any formal training. She declared,

On April 9, 1906, I was praising the Lord from the depths of my heart at home, and when the evening came and we attended the meeting, the power of God fell and I was baptized in the Holy Ghost and with fire, with the evidence of speaking in tongues. . . . I sang under the power of the Spirit in many languages, the interpretation both words and music which I had never before heard, and in the home where the meeting was being held, the Spirit led me to the piano, where I played and sang under inspiration, although I had not learned to play.<sup>68</sup>

Moore, who eventually married William Seymour, also helped to recruit people for the mission by sharing her testimony and speaking in tongues at other churches.<sup>69</sup> Moore joined AFM’s board of trustees in 1915 and after Seymour died in 1922, she replaced him as pastor of the Apostolic Faith Mission. She held that position until she was hospitalized in 1935. Moore died on 2 July 1936.<sup>70</sup>

Seymour fully believed in the notion of “divine healing.” From that early experience with Irish Lee, healing became a significant characteristic of the revival. Stories of attendees being healed or possessing the power to heal either through prayer or the “laying on of hands,” almost outnumbered the accounts of people experiencing the “baptism of the Holy Spirit.” The first issue of the *Apostolic Faith* noted many people whose defective sight was “completely restored.” and that “the deaf [had] had their hearing restored.”<sup>71</sup> One man even came to a meeting and asked for healing of deafness. In the process, God restored his eyesight as well.<sup>72</sup> In October 1906 the newspaper reported:

Soon after we arrived, a lady sick with dropsy came to the meeting. She got out of bed to come; had been sick a long time. . . . She immediately shouted that she was healed. I felt the healing power flow into her body. . . . She walked down town and told her neighbors about the wonderful things the Lord had done for her.<sup>73</sup>

Many people also were cured of other infectious diseases. In Los Angeles, for example, Mrs. S. P. Knapp suffered from tuberculosis, and received “divine healing” on 12 August 1906.<sup>74</sup> Several others were “divinely healed” of similar ailments.<sup>75</sup>

Another aspect of “divine healing” involved “blessed handkerchiefs.” Sometimes known as “prayer cloths,” people prayed for and blessed them, then sent them to those in need. One woman received a handkerchief from her brother who was ill and who lived in another part of the country. He asked her to have it blessed. She brought it to the Apostolic Faith Mission and said the Lord told her to give it to Sallie Trainor, and she obeyed. Trainor took the handkerchief upstairs, knelt down, and prayed. The Spirit “came upon her” and she received “power” and



prayed in tongues. She kissed the cloth “three times as the Spirit seemed to lead her.”<sup>76</sup> The woman sent the handkerchief back to her brother who then received his healing.<sup>77</sup>

### “THE COLOR LINE WAS WASHED AWAY IN THE BLOOD”

While the Azusa Street Revival was a working-class phenomenon, it brought together people of various religious backgrounds and nationalities.<sup>78</sup> According to Vinson Synan, journalist Frank Bartleman wrote the most perceptive reports on the early Pentecostal movement in Los Angeles. Synan claimed, “It was Bartleman’s diary and reports in the Holiness press that constituted the most complete and reliable record of what occurred at Azusa Street.”<sup>79</sup> Bartleman reported in April 1906 that “all classes began to flock to the meetings. Many were curious and unbelieving, but others were hungry for God.” In May 1906 he observed that “missionaries were gathered there from Africa, India, and the islands of the sea. Preachers and workers had crossed the continent and came from distant islands with irresistible drawing to Los Angeles.” Very early in the revival Bartleman found that “there are far more white people than colored coming. The color line was washed away in the blood.”<sup>80</sup> The December 1906 issue of the *Apostolic Faith* also confirmed that people traveled from many parts of the country and the world to Los Angeles in search of salvation.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to feeling the “power of the Holy Spirit,” participants in the Azusa Street Revival received certain “spiritual gifts.” For many, the revival served as a training ground for learning the importance of “Christian discipleship.” Perhaps even more significant was the lasting impact of the movement on the city of Los Angeles. The revival was remarkable not only in launching the worldwide Pentecostal movement, but because of the “rituals of equality” that were virtually absent from earlier revival movements. Laypeople served in every capacity of the movement from leading prayer, to the “laying on of hands,” to managing the publication of the mission’s newspaper, the *Apostolic Faith*.<sup>82</sup>

In some ways the Azusa Street Revival could be considered an accidental revival, since Seymour and his followers never intended to have one. Seymour only hoped to share his gifts and to pray with others. Seymour never expected the gatherings to grow as quickly as they did. The AFM’s meetings and services continued over the next six years without ceasing. Services were held every day of the week, unlike most revivals at the time, which lasted for a few days over the course of a week and maintained strict discipline. Yet, visitors found something special at the mission, which altered their understandings about the power and significance of the Holy Spirit. The First and Second Great Awakenings not only produced individual conversions, but also laid the foundation for broad political

and social reforms. The Great Revival inspired middle-class converts to join the common school crusade, campaigns for juvenile justice, the antislavery movement, and other social causes. The Pentecostal movement had the potential for bringing about a revolution in the nature of interracial and inter-group relations in the United States.<sup>83</sup>



**William J. Seymour**

Source: African American Registry

In the *Apostolic Faith* William Seymour presented the AFM's position on race relations. "No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack of education," he wrote in November 1906. "This is why God has so built up this work."<sup>84</sup> This became a kind of mantra for Seymour who repeated it often, reminding his followers of the more important concerns and goals of the revival. This stance directly challenged the social practices of the time, and some visitors objected to the mission's interracial services.<sup>85</sup> While the AFM's leadership did not openly engage the political issues of the period, the multicultural and interracial aspects of the Azusa Street Revival challenged the accepted social order and from that perspective the movement was considered radical. Historian Sandra Sizer recognized that the "rituals of equality" promoted by Seymour and AFM followers represented a "political position" as well as a religious practice.

The boundaries between the religious-moral-social sphere on the one hand, and the political arena on the other, had often been gerrymandered in one direction or another at various times, resulting in an interesting ambivalence between evangelicalism and politics. The church and

other religious organizations were not to participate directly in the political process; but if issues could be formulated in moral-social terms, if they could be understood in terms of right or wrong structures of the emotional life, religious people were bound to act, using their influence wherever possible to persuade others.<sup>86</sup>

With regard to religious training, William J. Seymour received some theological instruction, but unlike many earlier revival leaders, he was not formally trained. Despite Seymour's limited training, many participants found his preaching and praying appealing. Some scholars suggested he was illiterate, and almost blind, and that others served as ghostwriters for the articles appearing under his name in *Apostolic Faith*. This suggests another reason why Seymour allowed the "Holy Spirit" to choose anyone to deliver a message.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, the multilingual capacities that the worshipers derived from their "Holy Ghost baptism" allowed AFM's revivalists to reach out to newly arrived immigrant workers and other newcomers in their native languages. There is the story of AFM missionary Anna Hall who visited a church for Russian immigrants in Los Angeles where she addressed the congregation in their native language, and how they responded positively to her message.<sup>88</sup>

The AFM's "Sister Leatherman" reportedly went into the streets of Oakland, California, to talk about the "gift of tongues." When she began to speak in Russian, a man wearing a Turkish fez approached her. He asked her where she received her language training, and he told her that she spoke Russian almost as well as native speakers. The man appeared well educated and claimed to be a graduate from a college in Constantinople. Leatherman responded that she never received training in Russian, but that the Holy Ghost gave her the words and that she did not understand what she was saying, so the man agreed to interpret them for her. It was only when someone who spoke the language and understood what they were saying that these missionaries claimed that they learned that they received the "gift of tongues."<sup>89</sup> This language facility, in turn, influenced the reception Pentecostal missionaries received in their foreign travels. But it was the interracial and multiethnic dimension of the early years of the Pentecostal movement in Los Angeles that made it particularly attractive to the African Americans who joined. As one layman from the Methodist Church wrote in November 1906, "I bless God that [the revival] did not start in any church in this city, but out in the barn, so that we might all come and take part in it. If it had started in a fine church, poor colored people and Spanish people would not have got it, but praise God it started here."<sup>90</sup> While the preaching style and emotional displays resembled African and African American cultural practices, the African American leadership and the emphasis on "rituals of equality" made the Apostolic Faith Mission a hospitable and socially progressive environment.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, this "social equality" outraged many whites in the neighborhood to the point that they mobilized to try and close the mission by calling the police and filing complaints about the activities.<sup>92</sup>

## THE WEAKENING OF THE SPIRIT

Scholars of the Azusa Street Revival have generally ignored the racial and sociopolitical factors of the era that contributed to its decline. Los Angeles was (and is) one of the most racially and ethnically diverse cities in the United States, so the multicultural aspects of the revival were understandable. William Seymour declared, “We must give God all the glory in this work. We must keep very humble at his feet. He recognizes no flesh, no color, no names. We must not glory in Azusa mission, nor in anything but the Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>93</sup> Those who participated in the revival believed God would soon return for all of His people.<sup>94</sup>

While Seymour viewed his mission as a training ground for all people to become equipped for ministry, many of the people Seymour trained were ordained ministers in other Christian denominations, especially from the Holiness movement. These individuals attended meetings at the Apostolic Faith Mission, and returned to their home churches to establish new Pentecostal practices, including “speaking in tongues.” For example, Charles Harrison Mason and Charles Price Jones, both black Baptist ministers, were expelled from their churches for promoting doctrines similar to Pentecostalism.

Born in 1866 in Shelby County, Tennessee, near Memphis, Charles Harrison Mason’s parents, who were formerly enslaved, raised their son in the Missionary Baptist Church. Mason enrolled in the Arkansas Baptist College in 1893, but left in 1894 because he believed that the school did not profess the version of Christianity he had learned from his parents.<sup>95</sup> In 1895, however, Mason met Charles Price Jones, who was a Baptist minister from Jackson, Mississippi, and introduced Mason to the ideas of “holiness” and “sanctification.” The two young ministers began preaching and teaching Holiness doctrines in Baptist churches in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee.<sup>96</sup> This caused great controversy because most Baptist church leaders rejected the doctrine that the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” was demonstrative of one’s salvation. After Mason and Jones continued to hold services and revivals preaching the Holiness doctrines, they were finally expelled by the Baptist convention, and in 1897 the two organized the Church of God in Christ (COGIC).<sup>97</sup>

It was only after meeting Seymour in 1907 that COGIC organized as a “Pentecostal” denomination. Eventually, Mason disagreed with Jones over the doctrines and Jones left and organized the Church of Christ Holiness, also a Pentecostal denomination, in 1915. Initially, the COGIC was multiracial, but in 1914 several white ministers decided they would not longer be ordained by African Americans, and formed their own Pentecostal church in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Assemblies of God. While these new all-black and all-white Pentecostal denominations were expanding, the Apostolic Faith Mission in Los Angeles had by 1911 dwindled down to a little over a dozen members.<sup>98</sup>

Several whites who had attended services at the Apostolic Faith Mission began holding Pentecostal meetings and opening churches throughout Los Angeles. There were also all-black Pentecostal meetings sprouting up in various sections of the city. For example, reporter Frank Bartleman learned in 1909 that the several black Pentecostal churches were at odds with one another. Bartleman wrote “The work had gotten into a bad condition at the time we returned to Los Angeles. The missions had fought each other almost to a standstill. Little love remained.”<sup>99</sup> Competition for members, doctrinal disagreements over “sanctification,” and conflicts among the leadership, especially between William Seymour and Florence Crawford, were crippling the mission and the advancement of Pentecostalism. Seymour sought to revitalize the movement by inviting another charismatic preacher, William Durham, to come to the mission.<sup>100</sup>

William Durham, a white minister, came from Kentucky to Los Angeles in February 1911 to preach at the Apostolic Faith Mission. Durham had visited the mission in March 1907 and received the “baptism of the Holy Spirit.” Durham supported Seymour’s belief that “speaking in tongues” was not the only evidence of Spirit baptism; however, Durham rejected the doctrine of sanctification as “a second work of divine grace,” and supported the traditional view that believers received everything they needed for salvation when Jesus Christ died at Calvary. When Durham was visiting Azusa Street in February 1911, Seymour left Los Angeles on several preaching engagements and instructed his followers to accept what Durham preached as “divine revelation.” Durham reinvigorated the movement and large numbers of people began attending meetings again. When Seymour learned that some of Durham’s teachings conflicted with his, Seymour returned to Los Angeles and locked Durham out of the mission. However, many members abandoned Seymour and decided to follow Durham when he opened a new church.<sup>101</sup> Several years afterward Seymour recalled,

Very soon division arose through some of our white brethren, and the Holy Spirit was grieved. We want all of our white brethren and white sisters to feel free in our churches and missions, in spite of the troubles we have had with some of our white brethren in causing division and spreading wild fire fanaticism. Some of our colored brethren caught the disease of this spirit of division also.<sup>102</sup>

No single factor accounts for the demise of the Azusa Street Revival. As Frank Bartleman noted, once people began vying for power within the church, the revival’s services and reputation suffered. Some religious scholars do not consider the Azusa Street Revival an “awakening,” and fail to acknowledge that most Pentecostal denominations in existence today trace their roots to the founding of the Apostolic Faith Mission. However, most Pentecostals recognize Seymour as instrumental in founding the movement. The modern Pentecostal movement

remains one of the largest and fastest growing denominations worldwide. The Church of God in Christ is one of the largest African American Protestant denominations, and the Assemblies of God outnumbers many other predominantly white Protestant institutions.<sup>103</sup>

When W. E. B. Du Bois traveled to California in 1913, it was at the invitation of several elite black churches in Los Angeles. While he toured the downtown area, Du Bois did not visit the Apostolic Faith Mission because the revivalist fires had been doused by doctrinal divisions and racial tensions. However, at its height the Azusa Street Revival reflected the city's diverse social and cultural landscape. Begun by a small group of working-class African Americans, the revival developed multicultural and transnational appeal. Many of the working-class neighborhoods in Los Angeles were multiracial areas where people from many different ethnic backgrounds lived side by side. While Los Angeles held the promise of equal treatment, social cooperation, and spiritual fulfillment, the Azusa Street Revival actually delivered it. The revival represented another form of working class insurgency that challenged a racial order dominated by wealthy Anglo-Americans committed to the maintenance of white supremacy. It would be decades before the City of Angels would realize the promises of interracial understanding and multiethnic cooperation associated with the Azusa Street Revival.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>W. E. B. Du Bois, "Colored California," *The Crisis* (November 1913): 5–6, (1913; repr., New York, 1969): 192–193; Lonnie G. Bunch III, "The Greatest State for the Negro: Jefferson L. Edmonds, Black Propagandist of the California Dream," in *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California*, ed. Lawrence De Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor (Los Angeles, 2001), 129–148; Lonnie G. Bunch, *Black Angelenos: The Afro-American in Los Angeles, 1850–1950* (Los Angeles, 1988); W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; repr., Philadelphia, PA, 1996); and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1905; repr., Chicago, IL, 1965).

<sup>2</sup>Du Bois, "Colored California," 194.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 192–196. Prior to 1913, travelers who visited Los Angeles and other parts of California sometimes recorded their experiences. Most noteworthy was Hubert Howe Bancroft's seven-volume collection entitled *History of California* (San Francisco, CA, 1884–1890), which documented the state's rich history. Although Bancroft noted the roles of indigenous people, European travelers, immigrants and emigrants, he largely overlooked the history of local African Americans.

<sup>4</sup>Du Bois, "Colored California," 193.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 193–194.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.* Du Bois mentioned that the problem existed without going into detail about it. He referred to the Japanese as the "protagonists" in this situation, causing many problems for the African American community. *United States Historical Census Data Browser*; (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center), <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/> (accessed 14 October 2008)) (hereafter, *Historical Census Data Browser*).

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>11</sup>Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, CA, 1919); De Graaf, et al., *Seeking El Dorado*; Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley, CA, 2003); Douglass Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley, CA, 2005); Thomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley, CA, 1994).

<sup>12</sup>Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001); see also George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York, 1993); and William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley, CA, 2004).

<sup>13</sup>H. Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1971).

<sup>14</sup>Walter J., Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, (Minneapolis, MN, 1972); and Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character* (Munksgaard, Denmark, 1964).

<sup>15</sup>Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1971); Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York, 1979); and Larry Martin, ed., *The Topeka Outpouring of 1901: Eyewitness Accounts of the Revival That Birthed the Twentieth Century Pentecostal Movement* (Columbia, MO, 2000).

<sup>16</sup>Ian MacRobert, “The Black Roots of Pentecostalism” in *African American Religion*, ed. Timothy Fulop and Albert Raboteau (New York, 1997), 295–309.

<sup>17</sup>Joe Creech, “Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History,” *Church History* 65, no. 3 (1996): 405–424. Creech rejects claims of Seymour as the movement’s founder and views his role as well as the Azusa revival as merely a component of other forms of Pentecostalism occurring around the world.

<sup>18</sup>Ian MacRobert, “The Black Roots of Pentecostalism” in *African American Religion*, ed. Fulop and Raboteau (New York, 1997), 295–309; Creech, “Visions of Glory,” 405–424; and Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 2001). Cheryl Townsend Gilkes was the first to investigate the role of women in the Pentecostal Church, and most recently in the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). Her book *If It Wasn’t for the Women: Black Women’s Experience and Womanist Culture in Church and Community* (Maryknoll, NY, 2001), and her essay “The Role of Church and Community Mothers: Ambivalent American Sexism or Fragmented African Familyhood?” in Fulop and Raboteau, *African American Religion*, 365–388, were among the first to underscore the important link between black women in both the church and the African American community.

<sup>19</sup>*1910 United States Federal Census* (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2004, indexed by ProQuest from microfilmed schedules of the 1910 U.S. Federal Decennial Census, data imaged from National Archives and Records Administration, 1910 Federal Population Census, T624, 1,784 rolls. [Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration]), Ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2006) (hereafter, *1910 U.S. Federal Census*). Since the African American population in Los Angeles experienced such a tremendous increase between 1900 and 1910, a sample population of one in five people was used to conduct a survey of migration patterns for that census year.

<sup>20</sup>*1900 U.S. Federal Census*. (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2004, indexed by ProQuest from microfilmed schedules of the 1910 U.S. Federal Decennial Census, data imaged from National Archives and Records Administration, 1910 Federal Population Census, T623, 1,854 rolls. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC), (accessed 23 April 2006), hereafter, *1900 U.S. Federal Census*; Charlotta A. Bass, *Forty Years: Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper* (Los Angeles, CA, 1960), 27; Phillip Foner and Ronald L. Lewis, eds., *The Black Worker During the Era of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods*, vol. 4, *The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Philadelphia, PA, 1979), 47.

<sup>21</sup>*1910 United States Federal Census*; and Foner and Lewis, *The Black Worker*, 55, Foner and Lewis note that by 1910, women made up more than half of the entire African American population in the United States. Almost one quarter of them (2,013,981) were wage earners. Laundresses were the largest number (361,551), then cooks, (205,929), dressmakers (38,148), laundry workers (12,196), and housekeepers (10,021). There is no explanation for those women who were not designated as wage earners as to whether they were being supported by their husbands or worked sporadically when they could.

<sup>22</sup>De Graaf, et al., *Seeking El Dorado*, 19.

<sup>23</sup>*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 15 December 1988, A-8; Bass, *Forty Years*, 20.

<sup>24</sup>Bass, *Forty Years* 20; *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 15 December 1988, A-8; Delilah Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers of California*, and “Together We Build, 1885–2000” *Second Baptist Church 115th Anniversary Souvenir Journal* (Los Angeles, CA, 2000). Although FAME regards itself the oldest African American church in Los Angeles, it was not the first to get its charter. Second Baptist organized about one year earlier than FAME, but did not get

chartered until 1885, making Second Baptist the first (and oldest) African American church.

<sup>25</sup>Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers*, 160–161; and Bass, *Forty Years*, 16–24.

<sup>26</sup>Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers*, 158–171; and Bass, *Forty Years*, 16–23.

<sup>27</sup>David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World: Heresy to Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 178–194; Jon Butler, “Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretive Fiction,” *The Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (September 1982): 305–325; Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (Chicago, IL, 1957); Edwin Scott Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* rev. ed. (1966; repr. San Francisco, CA, 1990); Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, MA, 1982); and C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (Middletown, CT, 1987).

<sup>28</sup>Richard Birdsall, “The Second Great Awakening and the New England Social Order,” *Church History* 39, no. 3 (1970): 345–364; and Nancy Cott, “Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England,” *Feminist Studies* 3, nos. 1–2 (Autumn 1975): 15–29.

<sup>29</sup>William E. Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South, 1865–1900* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1993), 346.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 346–347.

<sup>31</sup>C. F., Range, Jr., ed., *Church of God in Christ Official Manual* (Memphis, TN, 1973), 41–58; and Jack W. Hayford, ed., *Spirit-Filled Life Bible: NKJV—A Personal Study Bible Unveiling All God’s Fullness in All God’s Word*, (Nashville, TN, 1991), 1 Cor. 12–14, Acts 2:4.

<sup>32</sup>Range, Jr., ed., *Church of God in Christ Official Manual*, 41–58.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>E. Myron Noble, ed., *Like as of Fire: Newspapers from the Azusa Street World Wide Revival, 1906–1909* (Washington, DC, 1991); [http://www.sendrevival.com/history/azusa\\_street/](http://www.sendrevival.com/history/azusa_street/) (15 October 2003); and George Eaton Simpson, “Black Pentecostalism in the United States,” *Phylon* 35, no. 2 (2nd Qtr. 1974): 203–211.

<sup>35</sup>William J. Seymour, *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission of Los Angeles, California*, in *The Complete Azusa Street Library*, ed. Larry Martin, vol. 7, (Columbia, MO, 2000), 82.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 75 and 82; Acts of the Apostles 2:4, and Hayford, *Spirit-Filled Life Bible*, 1624–1625.

<sup>37</sup>Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York, 1987); Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1978); and Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1976), 209–255.

<sup>38</sup>MacRobert, “The Black Roots of Pentecostalism,” 295–309; Wacker, *Heaven Below*; Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*; and Creech, “Visions of Glory,” 405–424.

<sup>39</sup>Charles Parham quoted in Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street: The Roots of the Modern Day Pentecost* (Gainesville, FL, 1980), xii.

<sup>40</sup>MacRobert, “The Black Roots of Pentecostalism,” 295–309.

<sup>41</sup>Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*; and Larry Martin, ed., *The Topeka Outpouring*.

<sup>42</sup>Martin, *The Topeka Outpouring*, 35.

<sup>43</sup>*1880 U.S. Federal Census*. (Provo, UT: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Copyright 1999 Intellectual Reserve, Inc.), <http://www.ancestry.com/> hereafter, *1880 U.S. Census Index*; Census Place: *4th Ward, Saint Mary, Louisiana*; Roll: *T9\_471*; Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com.

<sup>44</sup>Census Place: *4th Ward, Saint Mary, Louisiana*; Roll: *T9\_471*; Family History Film, Enumeration District: *168*; Image: *0286* (accessed, 2 May 2006).

<sup>45</sup>Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 60.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 61; Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 56–58.

<sup>48</sup>Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 60; and Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 57.

<sup>49</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 58. Lee was an Irish American who was a Holiness believer.

<sup>50</sup>Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 65.

<sup>51</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 60.

<sup>52</sup>Today it is the location of the Japanese American Cultural Center.

<sup>53</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 62.

<sup>54</sup>Acts 1:13–14.



<sup>55</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, Feb.–Mar. 1907, 4.

<sup>56</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 62; and Michael Eng, “A Multiplicity and Diversity of Faiths”: Religion’s Impact on Los Angeles and the Urban West, 1890–1940,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 463–492.

<sup>57</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 61–62.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 61; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 1–8; Allen Anderson, “Writing the Pentecostal History of Africa, Asia, and Latin America,” *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25, no. 2 (August 2004): 139–151; and Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 5–17.

<sup>59</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 62–67; and “Weird Babel of Tongues. New Sect of Fanatics Is Breaking Loose. Wild Scene Last Night on Azusa Street. Gurgle of Wordless Talk by a Sister,” *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1906, 1.

<sup>60</sup>Weird Babel of Tongues. New Sect of Fanatics Is Breaking Loose. Wild Scene Last Night on Azusa Street. Gurgle of Wordless Talk by a Sister,” *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1906, 1.

<sup>61</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, 1.

<sup>62</sup>Owens, *Speak to the Rock*, 72–73.

<sup>63</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, 1.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup>Seymour, *Doctrines and Discipline*, 110.

<sup>66</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, May 1907, 3.

<sup>67</sup>Raymond Robert Crawford, *The Light of Life Brought Triumph: A Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of Florence L. [Mother] Crawford, 1872–1936, Founder of the Apostolic Faith, Headquarters, Portland, Oregon*, Jubilee Edition (Portland, OR, 1955); Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 48 and 63; Hacker, *Heaven Below*, 145 and 160.

<sup>68</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, May 1907, 3.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.* These women were only some of those who established, led missions, and traveled throughout the world.

<sup>71</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, 1.

<sup>72</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, 2.

<sup>73</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, October 1906, 2. Dropsy is equivalent to edema, or an excessive accumulation of fluid in the body’s tissues.

<sup>74</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, 1.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, October 1906, 1.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup>In this case, the term revival implies a series of meetings for reawakening religious faith.

<sup>79</sup>Synan quoted in Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, xiv.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, 54–60.

<sup>81</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, December 1906, 1.

<sup>82</sup>Wacker, *Heaven Below*; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*; and Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*.

<sup>83</sup>Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; Stuckey, *Slave Culture*; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*; Sandra Sizer, “Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Church History* 48, no. 1 (March, 1979): 81–98; and Richard Carwardine, “The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the ‘New Measures,’” *The Journal of American History*, 59 no. 2 (1972): 327–340.

<sup>84</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, 1.

<sup>85</sup>Wacker, *Heaven Below*; Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*; Bartleman, *Azusa Street*; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*; Marini, *Radical Sects*; Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism*; and Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm*.

<sup>86</sup>Sizer, *Politics and Apolitical Religion*, 90.

<sup>87</sup>Wacker, *Heaven Below*; Bloch-Hoell. *The Pentecostal Movement*; Milton C. Sernett, ed., *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness* (Durham, NC, 1985); Joseph R. Washington, Jr., *Black Sects and Cults* (Lanham, MD, 1972); Sizer, “Politics and Apolitical Religion,” 81–98; and Carwardine, “The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers,” 327–340.

<sup>88</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, 4.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, 1.

<sup>91</sup>Erik R. Seeman, “Justise Must Take Plase”: Three African Americans Speak of Religion in Eighteenth-Century New England (in Notes and Documents),” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 56, no. 2, “African and American Atlantic Worlds,” 3rd Ser., (1999): 393–414; and Frank Lambert, ‘I Saw the Book Talk’: Slave Readings of the

First Great Awakening,” *The Journal of African American History* 87 (Winter 2002): 12–25.

<sup>92</sup>Bartleman, *Azusa Street*; Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, xxi–xxii; and Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 144–148.

<sup>93</sup>*Apostolic Faith*, January 1907, 1.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup>Bishop Ithiel Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason and the Roots of the Church of God in Christ* (Bakersfield, CA, 1996), 5; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; Stuckey, *Slave Culture*; and Raboteau, *Slave Religion*. Mason hoped to retain certain aspects of slave religion such as the ring shout and the dance.

<sup>96</sup>Mason and Jones shared a common view of Wesleyan perfectionism, that the Holy Spirit would keep man from committing sinful acts, and that the evidence of being “filled” with the Holy Spirit was speaking in tongues. This contradicted their Baptist backgrounds, which did not support speaking in tongues. They adopted John Calvin’s idea that man needs God’s grace to keep him from sin. John Wesley said that man needed grace, in addition to the Holy Spirit. The main difference here is found in Calvin’s notion of predestination—that God has chosen those who are to receive salvation.

<sup>97</sup>The Church of God in Christ believes that speaking in tongues exemplifies one’s salvation in addition to empowering the believer.

<sup>98</sup>Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason* 1–20 and 61–71; and Otho B. Cobbins, *History of the Church of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A., 1895–1965* (New York, 1966), 17–30.

<sup>99</sup>Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, 144.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 228 and 262; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 28; and Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason*, 50–51.

<sup>102</sup>Seymour, *Doctrines and Disciplines* (1915), 30.

<sup>103</sup>Bartleman, *Azusa Street*; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 403; Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 141–176; and Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason*, 101–121.